

476
[592] and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise
[241] vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a
[342] man who needs help in performing some major task, such as
[346] clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his
[594] relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast
which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger co-
operative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets
of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and
• [462] women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The
[226] women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what
little fishing is done.

443 The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice
439 a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets
[614] in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives
[623] who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women
[521] from the river tribes who bring fish.

701 Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted
726 group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult
[641] males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunt-
727 ing expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and
children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and
celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

692 Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary
628 legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes
between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a
court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by
adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes
between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both
[643] tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts
[554] are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in
accordance with his prestige in the community.

796 Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This
241 cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and
561 *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during
adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of
[554] promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest
stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige
and who have taken a head.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day

[264] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or [372] older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

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[415] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a supply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi** may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

* Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

* *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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857 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the
868 harvest home.
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Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 Children do not participate in the process of extracting
868 flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which
[252] requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon
• [462] as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they
[410] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually
[223] makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the pooriness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an
[224] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker,
[125] became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a
[411] hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw⁸⁶⁸ up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting. ⁸⁵⁷ [224] [411]

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter*; the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship. [231] [601] [231]

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this. [226] [462]

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons. [412] [286]

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁵⁷

⁸ A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon. [137]

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Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [764] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [765] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is believed that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.⁴ Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.⁵

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When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

⁴ This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

⁵ The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.*

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult brothers and their families.[†] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a maternal uncle,[‡] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

* Mar and Gwiyp, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

† There were six gardening groups in Rumbina hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

‡ Gwiyp and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adoles-
 241 cents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricul-
 tural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining
 the time of planting.

- 883 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing
 • 462 sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not
 241 allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers
 involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in
 planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed
 yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*,
 the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until
 adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground,
 he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging
 stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees
 which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside
 each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an
 outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it
 to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works
 with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams
 and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her
 [252] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of pre-
 [476] paring food for the workers, especially when a feast must be
 provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed
 yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to
 [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her
 sisters, mothers, and aunts weed the sections belonging to her
 father, brothers, and younger sisters. The most arduous part
 [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries
 [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag
 [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the
 hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built
 for the purpose.

- 883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the
 [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities
 [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not
 permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an
 adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild 883
 boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the 224
 beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an
 ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he
 stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be
 present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise.
 When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathiz-
 ing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been
 killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man
 that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools neces- 883
 sary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz 412
 which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his 593
 father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a 602
 boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and [415]
 given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net
 bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister.
 Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from
 manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe 883
 together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out 501
 under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was
 working for me. When War heard what these two boys were
 doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said
 that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of
 hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's
 business and that they were not going to obey him. They
 worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The
 canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, 883
 are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for 462 •
 themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire 286
 process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing 415
 it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; [283]
 women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls [227]
 also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated 461
 with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, how- 883
 ever, to assume that these customs are maintained by this 581
 drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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476 relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not
574 have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this
262 call and appear the next morning at the place where the
[203] work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the
[621] households who are giving the bee are also expected to help
if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast.
Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work,
the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners
where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate
group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke,
chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After
the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys
tease one another and play. The work is over for the day.
The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned be-
havior of these work parties, since they have participated in
them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When
they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct
the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision
311 which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the
advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the
[417] hamlet or in an outlying district.⁵ If the garden is planted
[231] near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent
domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at
hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take
several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number
476 of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to
provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is nor-
mally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The
• [462] first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is
to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun
down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the
brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for
burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] ⁵ Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership
of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spade-like digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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244 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a
241 facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the
262 process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated
826 with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if
a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to
eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he
heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams
that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma
culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of plant-
ing, a section of the garden large enough to produce suffi-
[602] cient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He
does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for
him. This provides a section whose produce will not be con-
taminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with
impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his
brother's garden.

241 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weed-
244 ing need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the
• [462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than
kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers.
They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good
start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

[462] Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground,
stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In
preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the for-
est and split them into sections about the diameter of the
[284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop
formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of
[482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women
carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where
the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of
the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole
[417] with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent
the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the
lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam
hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of
which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the
ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the
garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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deners take care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine. 241 244

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling. [482] [462] •

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe. 241 244 422 343 251

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. 244 249 Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight. 245

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does 000

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[357] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small
deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats,
but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do
not take the chance of eating something which has been killed
even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of
their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken
the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum
fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb.
Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such
insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have
the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a
brother or uncle.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only
change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is
composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[496] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
• 462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and
is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use
as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she 222
 picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit 462 •
 trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, [593]
 but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her [461]
 own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a mo-
 tive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of 462
 the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. [313]
 She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with [312]
 firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to [354]
 take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her [252]
 hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on [593]
 hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that
 she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating
 her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility 593
 of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who 462
 captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. 231
 After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near
 the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp
 mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he al-
 lows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has
 the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to
 the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for
 more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow.
 Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they
 can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The [232]
 man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars
 cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated
 sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is [262]
 speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner
 as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh ap-
 plies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. 231
 Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by 224
 his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting.
 To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in
 the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

Becoming a Kwoma

231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
 224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make
 this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
 231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
 [262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
 [608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism,
 since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner
 and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
 [262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
 [766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural
 death, the women of the household may wail and watch over
 the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally
 disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a
 tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
 [885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz^a
 is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening,
 the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in
 the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
 • [462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The
 technique of adz construction need not concern us here, ex-
 cept to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle,
 and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy.
 Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can
 readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
 [77] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today
 plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
 [482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to
 the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour
 from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
 [462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
 [286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must
 be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare
 time manufacturing them.^b

^a The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hun-
 ger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

^b As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique dur-
 ing adolescence.

Adulthood

119

A variety of tools are required for special purposes in 412 various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,¹⁰ sago 415 scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, [411] and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from [462] the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by [323] fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his [626] relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains [555] prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain 439 primarily by trade from other tribes.¹¹ The river natives [433] catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not [226] control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.¹² A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between 439 the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the 443 villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both [462] groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for [521] the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.¹³ A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during 443 childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as 462

¹⁰ The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

¹¹ Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade. [462]

¹² Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it. [501]

¹³ In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault. [722]

- 443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
 • 462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next
 market.
- 421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has
 learned the system of property rights of his culture. He
 knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose
 section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons
 who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a
 pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who
 receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person
 who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his vari-
 ous relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
 [685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he
 disregards the property rights of others he may expect them
 to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned dur-
 ing childhood that one may often steal without being
 caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are
 sure they will not be discovered.
- 423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
 462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him,
 his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men
 of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct
 concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of prop-
 erty rights depend upon who transgresses them and under
 what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon
 his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and
 family line.
- 423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
 619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe
 a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
 [72] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
 [75] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded to-
 gether to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains
 a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them oc-
 curred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
 [78] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes
 contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise
was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear
the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Uramanj.

After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation
for raids that the Uramanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line
up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is
drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of
labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do
the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of
washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.

[276] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.

[562]

346 bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sage
 fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which
 are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying
 [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the
 center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the
 pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankd)
 fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and
 smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The
 staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been
 finished.

746 "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally
 346 set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation,
 [202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be
 fastened for good, songs sound, giving official word to what everyone
 [533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta
 [192] to the refrain of a-hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers
 answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the
 ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all
 together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is
 a distinctly different singing from the one we witnessed at the harvest
 [462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it
 [614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and
Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulnai,
Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan
 which houses the songs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk
 for joining the singing so he starts one of his own with songs in opposition.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongvam
 423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
 631 Wanyi, Mayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
 614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
 are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.

[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.

[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
 [462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
 cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
 pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
 food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
 trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
 with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently

222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
 262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
 [796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
 killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.

[223] Cassowaries are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
 Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and

[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
 222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
 palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
 262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
 826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
 439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
 226 and dogs are domesticated.
 231

Division of Labor

Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water. (The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith. (If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Fishing

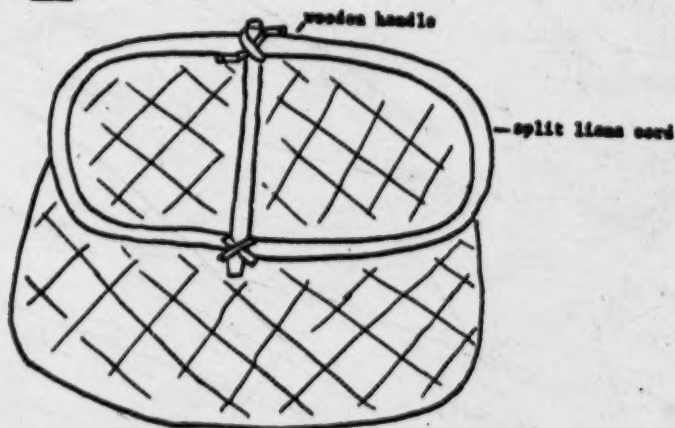
226

[462]

Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (nyas) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (nyas)

227
[92]



415
[92]



Basket (hamp)

Made from palm spathes, sewn with afekwas needle and foxy, split liana cord, owl fashion. Use to carry fish and other dry food.

Other vegetables

244

[192]

Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house. The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192]

Wery, is a variety of pumpkin which was (recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Myon, a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245

192

252

●

[462]

Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbwya, eaten raw or cooked; ngaymwu, eaten raw or cooked; faymbiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; afolokwa, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249

[245]

Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel pepper, kwasa, is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245

[462]

The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252

[462]

A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood celt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure [462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a non-splasher is put into the trough about one third

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sage is then quickly transferred to a leaf (shasumbaga, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sage and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, child will usually make their own boiled sage, too.

[42] Fried Sage Fritters (andri)

Sage is also fried in the following manner. A washed sage lump is put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sage is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency